

# STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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## ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Cebi, Ramis (COL), Turkish Army  
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The bibliography contains reviews of 5 books and 5 journal articles that examine the changed circumstances of Turkey's security environment. The author examines the central thesis of each work and assesses the relevance of the work on the security concerns of Turkey.

Aliboni, Roberto. *Southern European Security in the 1990s*. New York: Printer Publishers, 1992.

This book, which brings together experts from all the countries concerned to asses the issues facing Southern Europe in the 1990s, is the result of an international research project under the direction of Roberto Aliboni.

The editor states that the term Southern Europe does not coincide with the geographic definition in the book. It includes, from east to west, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal. The countries considered all belong to NATO and, with the exception of Turkey, the European Union (EU). Turkey, nonetheless, enjoys a close association with the EU.

Aliboni argue that European security has meant primarily central European security and insecurity for the past forty years. The position of the countries of Southern Europe was marginal. This marginal position was accentuated by the political and geographic fragmentation along the southern flank. He stresses that disputes between Turkey and Greece are significant factors in the fragmentation of the southern flank.

After discussing relations between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, Aliboni emphasizes three main hypotheses which can be advanced in the Southern European security context, in the light of foregoing: (1) recognizing and integrating of the threat from the south into NATO strategy, (2) decentralization or even segmentation of the NATO, and (3) the emergence of a distinct Western European foreign and security identity in addition to an economic identity. Further, he

stresses that the first and second hypotheses would be detrimental to cooperation in area of Europe, but that the third might complement either the reformulation of the threat facing NATO, or NATO's decentralization.

The study explains the countries' views on their security policy.

- From the French point of view, for example, the prospects for Southern European security are inextricably linked to broader developments, above all in the Atlantic Alliance and the EU, but also in the Western European Union (WEU) and the Conference on (now Organization for) Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).
- Greece's preference for future security arrangements will lie solidly in the EU-WEU framework. Greek threat perceptions and security policies will continue to be affected in an overall balance with Turkey and stability in the Balkans.
- Italy continues to assign the highest priority to strengthening of broader European cooperative frameworks.
- Portugal opposes any security policy intended to set up a European block relegating its ties with the U.S to a secondary position. But, Lisbon is thoroughly reviewing its major strategic options.
- For Spain, it is important to complement the East-West security arrangements with something similar oriented to the south.

- The Turkish view of security in Southern Europe seems to rely heavily on the U.S.factor. US-Turkish bilateral relations have been growing as Turkey is distanced from mainstream European developments. Europe's reluctance to take part in the NATO Allied Mobile Force dispatched to southeastern Turkey in January 1991 provided a valuable lesson for future cooperative security schemes.

The study is an extremely useful contribution to the debate, on Southern European security issues, as it explores the different perspectives of the Atlantic Alliance's six southern members and the partial and painful emergence of a sense of shared identity.

Aybet, Gulnur. *Turkey's Foreign Policy and Its Implications for the West: A Turkish Perspective*. London: Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies, 1994.

This book examines continuity and change in Turkish foreign policy, the influence of external developments affecting the geostrategic environment, and what implications these issues will have for Turkey's relations with the West.

The author points out that Turkey's geo-strategic environment has gone through tremendous alterations since the end of the Cold War, and the Gulf War firmly established the premise that Turkey belonged to East and West. In this new environment, Turkey has continued to reconcile its old relations and practices accumulated from the Cold War era with new opportunities and challenges. So far, the transformation of Turkey's geo-strategic environment is far from complete, and will continue to be affected by several factors. These include a re-evaluation of Turkey's national interests, western policies towards the regions surrounding Turkey and their effect on Turkish interests, and the expectations and concerns of regional states.

The author also stresses that the withdrawal of Soviet forces beyond the Urals has diminished their threat to Western Europe, but not to Turkey. In fact, this move has physically brought them closer to Turkey whose potential as a suitable "role model," embodying democracy and secularism for the Central Asian republics, as well as its growing cultural relations with the region, have begun to worry Russia. Potential conflict between Russia and Turkey, therefore, is not so much defined in terms of

NATO any longer, but more likely over frictions involving Central Asia and the Caucasus.

In general, the author reflects her examinations' results without assessment. But there are some points which are open to debate. Although the Gulf War increased the profile of Turkey's strategic importance, and showed just how crucial Turkey's cooperation in a regional crisis could be, Western countries have not shown much interest in providing aid to Turkey whose economic losses reached around \$30 billion because of the embargo against Iraq, and whose stability has been in danger because of terrorist activities which increased as a result of the Gulf War. In addition, on the whole, western firms did not show an interest in reaching Central Asia through Turkey, which further diminished Turkey's economic role in the area. In Turkey, this situation may have caused a public disappointment and created a public opinion against western countries which was reflected at the last general election.

Mango, Andrew. *Turkey: The Challenge of a New Role*. London: Preager Publishers; 1994.

In this monograph, the author examines virtually all the major problems confronting Turkey today and provides the reader with both information and insights.

Recognizing the unique situation which Turkey has held over the Cold War period, the author emphasizes three facts which are critical to his thesis: (1) the growing economic shortcomings in the face of the aspirations of the average Turkish citizen's life style, (2) multi-faceted political domain with sharp personality differences among the leaders, and (3) the direct threat of growing PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party) insurgency the southeast and in the large cities.

The author stresses the continued importance of the U.S.-Turkish relationship to the turbulent, uncertain international system emerging from the Cold War, but does not gloss over the serious domestic challenges facing Turkey.

Dr. Mango argues that there is a distinct difference between the Kurdish problem and the terror tactics of the PKK. If the PKK were to be under control or even destroyed there will still be a Turko-Kurdish socio-cultural clash that must be addressed for a mutually accepted peaceful medium. He also points out that, although the West can properly criticize particular methods used by the Turkish authorities to pacify the Kurdish areas, it must beware of giving comfort to forces of disintegration, because their threat is not limited to Turkey.

The author states that since Turkey's stability and its strength is most definitely in the interest of the West, the West must understand both Turkey's weaknesses and its strengths. But it must remain determined to keep Turkey as a friend. Unfortunately he does not suggest how to balance these issues.

This valuable book surely furthers readers' understanding of Turkey's role in the international arena.

Rubinstein, Alvin Z., and Oles M. Smolansky. *Regional Power Rivalries in the New Eurasia: Russia, Turkey, and Iran*. New York: M.E.Sharpe Inc., 1995.

The book, a collective work, is a scholarly attempt to analyze what is presently taking place in the South-central Eurasia.

It gives a brief historical background of each country and their respective foreign policies towards the newly created independent states of the Central Asia and the Caucasus. The study points out that these newly founded states which are trying to become politically and, especially, economically self-sufficient have one thing in common: the dependence on Soviet/Russian dominance for over three quarters of a century or more. Although some of the western business practices are taught in the universities in Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, the Russian language still seems to be the norm. The study stresses the Russian influence - rightfully so - and less so on the Western influence. The exception, of course, is piping of the Azeri and Kazak oil via Turkey and/or the Black Sea.

The study points out that the international community ensures that the newly independent states are independent and somewhat autonomous by virtue of maintaining international representatives and having cultural and economic exchanges.

The study ends with two main conclusions which I think are the core of Russian foreign policy with respect to this part of the world. First and foremost, is maintaining an economically dependent string of countries that act as a buffer zone, but yet

if needed are just a hop-skip-and-a-jump away from the "Middle East proper." The second conclusion that the authors stress is the fact that "there are enough motives for cooperation" between any two parties to offset the advantage of the third party. As an example Russia and Turkey seem to share the same idea to counter Iran's "Islamic appeal." Another example is that Russia and Iran share the same view with respect to the re-emergence of the "Pan-Turkic nationalism."

This is a well written analysis that is recommended to readers who would like to know more about the region that is called South Central Eurasia.

*Stearns, Monteagle. Entangled Allies: U.S. Policy Toward Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. New York: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1992.*

This book expresses views about the management of U.S. policy and, specifically, about the management of U.S. Aegean and Cyprus policies. According to the author:

- Instead of formulating fresh Greek, Turkish, and Cyprus policies based on new assessments, Washington has tried to fit Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus into its old Soviet policy. The U.S. relationships with Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus lack historical resonance.

- The United States might have been able to play a more constructive role if it had remembered that most diplomacy, like all politics, is local. In its dealing with Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus, the United States seems continually to be playing catchup, reacting too late to threats to the peace in Cyprus and Aegean and therefore reacting inappropriately; weighing regional problems on the scales of superpower military parity and therefore often weighing them incorrectly.

- Jupiter missile decision, the Dulles and Johnson letters, and 7:10 ratio are not good policies.

- The Gulf war has demonstrated that Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus have important role to play whatever "new world order" emerges in the Middle East.

- The origin of the Greek-Turkish dispute, apart from lack of confidence, is national pride. To solve the problem, a third-party role is essential. The reconciliation between Greece and

Turkey would strengthen not only their security but also the security of NATO.

- The historical evidence suggests that Greeks and Turks can live together peaceably, while remaining loyal to their own customs and cultures, when the political climate cultivated by their leaders permits them to do so.

- As long as Greeks and Turks are unable to agree about Cyprus they will be unable to agree about anything else. Restored mutual confidence between them can best be instilled by the negotiation of nonaggression pact guaranteed by NATO.

- As the Gulf crises demonstrated, the U.S. needs reliable access routes to the Middle East. The best routes lead through Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. The U.S. government in these circumstances should spend less time trying to eliminate 7:10 ratio and more time to reduce the overall level of armaments in the area.

- The republic of Cyprus is today, the only member state of the U.N. with foreign forces remaining on its soil against the will of its government. Until the departure of Turkish troops from Cyprus, Cyprus will continue to be a tinderbox.

In general, author evolves realistic proposals to break Greek - Turkish dispute. And, of course, there are some points to discuss.

First, contrary to reducin the level of armaments, it is necessary to arm Turkey to maintain peace and stability in the

Middle East. Because the stronger Turkey is, the more deterrent role it plays in the region.

Second, the Republic of Cyprus. In fact there is no the Republic of Cyprus in the island now. It was founded under multilateral treaties as a bi-communal state in 1960, and destroyed by Greek Cypriot in December 1963. Since that time Greek Cypriots have been recognized as the Republic of Cyprus. This is one of the most important reasons for not reaching an agreement on the island. Greek Cypriots benefit from being recognized as a state: They receive all foreign aids, and enjoy a high standard of living. In case of reconciliation, Greek Cypriot will lost all benefits, and have to share these with Turkish Cypriot.

Third, Turkish troops on the island. Turkish troops are not on the soil of the Republic of Cyprus, which Turkey does not recognize. Turkish troops are in the Turkish Cypriot's soil and they have been protecting peace since 1974 instead of UN peace forces that did ntt prevent violation between 1964-1974. In case of departure of Turkish troops from the island, unless an agreement is reached, Cyprus will remain a real tinderbox.

Abramowitz, Morton I. "Dateline Ankara: Turkey After Ozal." *Foreign Policy* 92 (Summer 1993): 164-181.

The article is about Turkey's situation after the death of President Turgut Ozal. The author argues about ethnicity and policy, transition at home, Turks and Kurds, and the American connection. Having been the U.S. ambassador in Turkey, Abramowitz examines skillfully Turkey's situation, and reaches insightful results in his essay.

He points out that in the past decade - the Ozal era - both external and internal revolutions made Turkey a strong country. But, the very revolutionary changes also have accentuated its weaknesses, such as governance, stability, and national identity.

Abramowitz stresses that the most dangerous threat to secularism in Turkey comes, in fact, not from religious practices but from the rapid transformation of Turkish life. If economic growth falters and the government is unable to control disorder and terrorism, fundamentalism can threaten Turkey's democracy. And, therefore, he adds that the U.S. should help accelerate economic growth in Turkey.

Finally, because a Turkey in disarray or in pursuit of a new foreign policy would harm American interests in the Middle East, Russia , and elsewhere, the author states that the U.S. also needs to find ways to encourage Turkey's integration into the West. This would reduce the chances that Turkey will stray in another direction and withhold its cooperation on important issues.

The fact that the last general election, on 24 December 1995, showed how fundamentalism can benefit from economic instability in Turkey, and that the U.S. played an important role in Turkey's acceptance into the Europe Customs Union, U.S. support may also facilitate Turkey's integration into the European Union so that the fundamentalist threat disappears and Turkey can help contribute more to security and interests of the West.

Bezanis, Lowell. "The Islamic Threat In Central Asia: Myth or Reality?" *Transition* 24 (29 December 1995): 6-11.

The article is about exploiting the fear of militant Islam in Central Asia. After examining some historical, cultural, and political factors, the author concludes that these factors make the establishment of a theocratic state or states in the region unlikely.

The author also points out that, the fears of both Russia and the West seem to be exacerbated by the growing influence of militant, fundamentalist Islam in the region. But, the origin of Russian and Western concerns and the time chosen to articulate them differ. Russia continues to play on fear of the "Islamic factor" to justify its active foreign policy in the "near abroad," while simultaneously consolidating relations with several old and new partners in the Middle East in an attempt to retain its status as a great power. Western fears originate from the growing power and influence of regimes like Iran which are hostile to the West.

This is a good view of Central Asia. In the short run there may not be a fundamentalist threat, but in long run there might be.

Pipes, Daniel. "Turkey, Iraq, and Mosul." *Middle East Quarterly* 3 (September 1995): 65-68.

The article is about Turkey's interest in Mosul region of Iraq, which based on statements to the newspapers by Suleyman Demirel, the President of the Republic of Turkey.

First, the author gives a short summary on the background of Mosul, which was Turkish territory until the end of the World War I. The author then points out that Demirel's statements about some changes on the Turkish-Iraqi border created some doubt on the part of other countries in the region that Turkey may intend to occupy Mosul. After Demirel retracted his earlier statements, the incident came to the end. But the author stresses that nothing was actually resolved, and the Mosul issue could flare into a crisis especially if the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) continues to launch its attacks on Turkey from this region and the Iraqi government continues to weaken.

In fact, Turkey has no designs on any country's territory. The President must have explained his statement because of Turkey's security concerns. Turkey's foreign policy, which as Ataturk - the founder of the Republic of Turkey - put it, is "Peace at home, Peace in the World." But, in reality, Pipes is correct in that nothing was actually resolved in Northern Iraq and this situation creates instability in the region.

Rouleau, Eric. "The Challenges to Turkey." *Foreign Affairs* 5 (November/ December 1995): 110-126.

In this article, the author examines Turkey's challenges in the light of its historical legacy and the new world order.

Rouleau points out that with democratization, especially since the 1980s, Turks speak with pride of their Ottoman heritage, and hope to play guiding role in the Middle East. He argues about Turkey's interest in the Central Asian republics and stresses that the links between the Central Asian republics and Russia were more solid than suspected.

The author points out that Turkey would seem to have all the ingredients for a bright future, but the Kurdish crisis is the most important obstacle to its development. He stresses that, as an old nation, there is reason to hope that Turkey will be able to overcome its difficulties. But unfortunately he does not offer any specific option.

As a French ambassador to Turkey, the author is familiar with Turkey's problems and its capabilities, and reflects his experiences in his work. It is a well written article on post-Cold War Turkey's challenges.

Snyder, Jed C. "Turkey's Role in the Greater Middle East." *Joint Force Quarterly* 9 (Autumn 1995): 58-63.

In this article, the author examines Turkey's situation in its new environment and reaches conclusions on what may happen in Turkey and what it must decide.

According to the author, like its NATO partners, Turkey moved into the post-Cold War era unprepared for the new world order where, in terms of regional rivalry, Turkey is likely to compete with Russia and Iran in Central Asia, and the Caucasus.

The author points out that Turkey's search for a new center of gravity and distinct role is frustrated by its estrangement from Europe, when the U.S. is disinclined to encourage it. The unique status of Turkey in NATO and its close relationship with the U.S. can be seen as an asset, but it also complicates its relations with nations outside the western alliance.

The article ends by offering two choices for Turkey; either ignore the Middle East or broaden relations with Europe, Russia, Asia, and the Middle East. The second choice, of course, is the best course of action for both Turkey and its NATO partners.

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